

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----105644 191944Z /44
P 191806Z AUG 77
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0481

S E C R E T GENEVA 7149

EXDIS/USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: HIGHLIGHTS, POST-PLENARY CONVERSATIONS, AUGUST 16, 1977
(SALT TWO - 1358)

1. HART-JOHNSON/SHCHUKIN-PAVLICHENKO, A-1728)
NTMS/MOBILE ICBM TESTING
SENATOR HART DESCRIBED RATIFICATION PROCESS AND POINTED TO
NEED TO BE ABLE TO ASSURE AMERICAN PUBLIC THAT US COULD BE
SATISFIED THAT PROVISIONS OF TREATY BEING ADHERED TO. HE FUR-
THER POINTED OUT BECAUSE OF HIGH SECRECY OF NATIONAL TECHNICAL
MEANS, BUILDING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO RATI-
FICATION PROCESS, WOULD BE A DIFFICULT TASKS. SHCHUKIN OBSERVED
US MUST HAVE VERY GOOD ANALYTICAL CAPABILITY TO ASSESS OUTPUT
FROM SATELLITES AND THEREFORE THERE SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM IN
VERIFICATION. HART NOTED THAT WE NONETHELESS HAVE PROBLEMS;
CITING THE SS-16/20 LAUNCHER AND D&P. JOHNSON ASKED SHCHUKIN
FOR CLARIFICATION OF "TESTING" AS APPLIED TO MIBILE MISSILE
LAUNCHERS AS WELL AS MISSILES THEMSELVES. SHCHUKIN SAID TESTING
OF LAUNCHER WOULD INVOLVE SUCH ACTIVITIES AS ROAD TESTS AND
ERECTION PROCEDRUES USING THEM WIT MISSILES. WHEN ASKED IF
SUCH TESTS WOULD BE BANNED UNDER SOVIET PROVISIONS, HE ANSWERD
IN THE AFFIRMATIVE. WITH RESPECT TO THE MISSILE HE REAFFIRMED
THAT TESTING MEANT FLIGHT TESTING. JOHNSON ASKED IF FLIGHT
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TESTING OF A MISSILE IN THEIR DEFINITION MEANT HTAT LAUNCH
WOULD TAKE PLACE FROM A MIBILE LAUNCHER AND SHCHUKIN REPLIED NOT
NECESSARILY, HOWEVER, IF THE INTENTION WAS THE DEVELOPMENT OF
A MOBILE MISSILE AND IT WERE FIRED FROM ANY OTHER LAKNCHER,
SUCH AN EVENT WOULD BE CIRCUMVENTION AND THEREFORE A VIOLATION
OF THE TREATY.

2. (CARR-BUTTS/BELETSKY, A-1727)

NUMERICAL LIMITS

CARR ASKED BELETSKY TO COMMENT ON THIS ROLE IN SOVIET DELEGATION. BELETSKY STATED THAT FOR LAST FOUR AND A HALF YEARS HE HAD BEEN PULLING A "HEAVY CART LOADED WITH COMPLICATED ISSUES". IN THAT REGARD, HE WAS DISMAYED THAT LOAD WAS NOT GETTING LIGHTER, ATTRIBUTING THIS TO STATEMENTS LIKE THE US ONE MADE TODAY ON NUMERICAL VALUES. BUTTS COMMENTED THAT TODAY'S STATEMENT WAS NOT NEW PROPOSAL, BUT MERELY INFORMED THE SOVIET SIDE THAT A 90,000 KG LAUNCH-WEIGHT LIMIT AND 3,600 THROW-WEIGHT LIMIT ON LIGHT ICBM WAS FOR OUR OWN PLANNING PURPOSES. BELETSKY STATED JDT WAS ADEQUATELY "PRECISE AND UNAMBIGUOUS" AND THAT ISSUE WAS RESOLVED. CARR DISAGREED, STATING DELEGATIONS ARE DRAFTING AN AGREEMENT WHICH MUST BE UNDERSTOOD NOT ONLY BY THE EXPERTS, BUT BY AMERICAN AND SOVIET PEOPLE ALIKE. FURTHER, HIS AVERAGE CONSTITUENT DID NOT UNDERSTAND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RS-19 AND RS-20, BUT DID HAVE GOOD GRASP OF WHAT NUMERICAL VALUES WOULD MEAN, CARR FURTHER USED JOINT US/USSR SCIENTIFIC EFFORTS IN SPACE AS AN EXAMPLE WHERE PRECISE TECHNICAL AND NUMERICAL DATA WAS EXCHANGED. HE SAID THAT AMERICAN PUBLIC KNOWS THIS TO BE CASE WITH RESPECT TO APOLLO/SOYUZ FLIGHT AND THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN WHY AN EXCHANGE OF NUMERICAL VALUES HAD BEEN POSSIBLE ON THAT PROJECT AND NOT POSSIBLE IN ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT NEGOTIATIONS IN OUR LIFETIME.

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3. (KLOSSON-MCNEILL-BEECROFT/KARPOV-SMOLIN, A-1735)

DRAFTING GROUP MATTERS

KARPOV STATED THAT FROM SOVIET POINT OF VIEW DRAFTING GROUP IN NEXT TWO WEEKS SHOULD GIVE PRIORITY TO MIRV VERIFICATION AND AGREED STATEMENT ON DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT REFERENCES. HE SAID THAT IN VIEW OF NEW PROPOSAL TABLED TODAY BY SEMENOV ON XVI.3, SOVIET SIDE LOOKED FORWARD TO US WITHDRAWAL OF ITS SENTENCE ON "BEST EFFORTS". KLOSSON QUESTIONED MEANING OF "TESTING" IN SOVIET PROTOCOL PROPOSAL, TO WHICH KARPOV REPLIED SOVIETS PROPOSED PROHIBITION ON FLIGHT TESTING OF MOBILE ICBMS. KLOSSON WANTED TO EXPLORE EXPLICIT MENTION ON MOBILE ICBMS IN JDT: HE HAD UNDERSTOOD THAT SOVIET POSITION WAS TO ELIMINATE FROM JDT ANY EXPLICIT MENTION OF MOBILE ICBMS. KARPOV ACKNOWLEDGED THAT WAS CORRECT. KLOSSON RECALLED ONE IDEA THAT THESE EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO MOBILE ICBMS MIGHT BE BEST BE COMBINED IN AGREED STATEMENT WHICH WOULD COME INTO EFFECT AT END OF PROTOCOL, IF AT THAT TIME SIDES HAD NOT REACHED AGREEMENT TO CONTINUE BAN ON DEPLOYMENT OF MOBILE ICBMS. KARPOV SAID SUCH AN AGREED STATEMENT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE ON A BILATERAL BASIS, AND WOULD HAVE TO BE UNILATERAL STATEMENT BY US SIDE BECAUSE SOVIET POSITION IS TO BAN MOBILE ICBMS.

4. (ELDRIGE/BEKETOV-JOURAVLEV, A-1731)

PRIOR NOTIFICATION

JOURAVLEV REFERRED TO GENERAL NATURE OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION PROPOSAL, ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS STRESSING THAT IT PROVIDED FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION ONLY WHEN TESTING TO BE DONE COULD CAUSE CONCERN ON THE OTHER SIDES PART. WHEN QUESTIONED FURTHER, HE INDICATED PRESENT TESTING PRACTICES BY BOTH SIDES WERE CONSIDERED BY SOVIETS NOT TO FILL THE DEFINITION, "CAUSING CONCERN". NEITHER BEKETOV NOR JOURAVLEV INDICATED ENTHUSIASM FOR THE PROPOSAL AND IN FACT SEEMED APOLOGETIC FOR ITS LACK OF SUBSTANCE. EARLE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), MISSILE TESTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 19-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977GENEVA07149
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770300-0513
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770845/aaaablof.tel
Line Count: 126
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 15210358-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1552091
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HIGHLIGHTS, POST-PLenary CONVERSATIONS, AUGUST 16, 1977 (SALT TWO - 1358)
TAGS: PARM, PDIP, US, UR, USSALTTWO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/15210358-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009